Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 08058 202216Z

65
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ISO-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /087 W
---------- 116317
R 202052Z MAY 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4208
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 8058

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GE, UR, US
SUBJECT: SUSLOV ON DETENTE, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

REF: MOSCOW 4235

1. SUMMARY. SUSLOV'S SPEECH TO THE SED PARTY CONGRESS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 08058 202216Z

IN BERLIN MAY 19, AS REPORTED IN PRAVDA, INDICATES THAT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

HIS ALWAYS RATHER COOL RELATIONSHIP TO DETENTE MAY HAVE COOLED A BIT FURTHER, THOUGH WE DO NOT ASCRIBE TOO MUCH SIGNIFICANCE TO THE RELATIVELY SLIGHT CHANGES WE NOTE IN THIS REGARD. THE MAIN THEME OF HIS SPEECH WAS COMMUNIST PARTY SOLIDARITY AND "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM". MOST OF HIS COMMENTS ON THE LATTER THEME -- A TOUCHY ONE AT THIS STAGE OF PREPARATION FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE -- WERE FAIRLY SUBDUED, INDICATING THAT HIS POLITBURO COLLEAGUES MAY HAVE PREVAILED UPON HIM TO DESIST FROM HEATED POLEMICS ON THE ISSUES OF IDEOLOGICAL ORTHODOXY
UNTIL ECPC PREPARATIONS ARE COMPLETED. END SUMMARY.

2. SUSLOV'S TREATMENT OF DETENTE IS BRIEF, AND IS A NOTCH TOUGHER THAN HIS USUAL GUARDED COMMENTS ON THE SUBJECT. HE SAYS THAT THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF "PROGRESSIVE" AND "PEACE LOVING" FORCES, A BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE IN THE "BENEFICIAL PROCESS" OF NORMALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. BUT HE EMPHASIZES THAT THE PROCESS IS BESET BY PROBLEM STEMMING FROM THE "ANTICOMMUNIST, ANTI-SOCIALIST, AND ANTI-SOVIET PLATFORM ON WHICH AMERICAN HAWKS, WEST GERMAN REVANCHISTS, AND MAOISTS HAVE COME TOGETHER." HE ADDS, DARKLY, THAT THERE ARE UNFORTUNATELY FORCES "IN OTHER POLITICAL CIRCLES AND COUNTRIES" AS WELL WHICH CONNIVE WITH THE ".MILITARIST STRIVINGS" OF DETENTE OPPONENTS.

3. ALL OF THIS, HE WARNS, IS "A DANGEROUS GAME": "ANY ATTEMPT TO PROVOKE A NEW ROUND OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND THROW MANKIND BACK TO THE 'COLD WAR' REPRESENTS A THREAT TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE" TO ALL NATIONS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR SOCIAL-POLITICAL SYSTEM.

4. HOWEVER, THE MAIN THEME OF THE SPEECH, NOT SURPRISINGLY, IS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM--THOUGH HE IS CAREFUL TO PRESENT
HIS VIEWS ON THIS TOUCHY SUBHECT IN A REASONABLY SUBDUED MANNER. HIS VIEW OF THE WORLD AS ONE LARGE ARENA IN WHICH A NEVER-ENDING CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE MAIN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

EVENT COMES THROUGH CLEARLY. HE IMPLIES THAT VIRTUALLY EVERY TASK UNDERTAKEN IS MEASURED IN THE END BY THE INFLUENCE THE COMPLETION OF THAT TASK HAS UPON THE "INTERNATIONAL COURSE OF EVENTS", I.E., THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. HE RELIES ON A QUOTE FROM LENIN TO SHOW THAT "SOCIALISM'S" MAIN INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WILL BE THE FORCE OF ITS EXAMPLE, AND EXPOUNDS AT LENGTH ON THIS, COMPARING THE "SOCIALIST WORLD'S " SUCCESS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

WITH THE MYRIAD FAILURES OF CAPITALISM. BUT HE WARNS
THAT AT THE SAME TIME A SHARP IDELOLGICAL STRUGGLE
IS BEING CARRIED OUT IN WHICH CAPITALISM, THROUGH LIES
AND DISINFORMATION, EXAGGERATES THE SLIGHTEST DIFFICULTY
ENCOUNTERED IN BUILDING "SOCIALISM'S" NEW WORLD.

5. BECAUSE OF THIS CONTINUING CLASS STRUGGLE, HE ARGUES
SOLIDARITY AMONG "PROGRESSIVE FORCES" IS VERY IMPORTANT,
BOTH WITHIN THE "SOCIALIST" COMMONWEALTH -- WHERE
UNITY HAS PRODUCED IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES --
AND BETWEEN THE "SOCIALIST" COMMONWEALTH AND THE NATIONAL
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. "THE SUCCESS OF THE CAUSE OF
PEACE, THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION DE-
PEND TO AN EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE ON THE UNITY OF REVOLU-
TIONARY, PROGRESSIVE, AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES".

6. SUSLOV THEN LAUNCHES INTO THE REAL SUBSTANCE OF HIS
LECTURE. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM (P.I.), HE
SAYS, HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE ORIGINAL COMMUNIST MANI-
FESTO OF 1848, AND THROUGHOUT THE TIME SINCE THAT MAINI-
FESTO "HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO THE THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPON
OF THE WORKING CLASS." "MOVEMENT AWAY FROM THE PRINCIPLE
OF P.I. CAN BRING ONLY LOSSES AND DEFEATS." HE ARGUES
THAT THE DEFENSE OF P.I. TODAY DEMANDS THAT THE FRATERNAL
PARTIES WORK NOT IN WORD BUT "IN DEED" TO STRENGTHEN UNITY
OF THEIR ACTIONS.

7. SUSLOV LINKS P.(8. DIRECTLY TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
PARTY CONFERENCE (ECPC), WHICH HE WAYS "IN OUR VIEW" SHOULD
PLAY A LARGE ROLE IN ENSURING THAT THAT PRINCIPLE IS
FOLLOWED IN INTER-PARTY RELATIONS. HE MAKES IT EVEN MORE
EXPLICIT: "ALONG WITH OTHR PARTICIPANTS THE
CPSU WILL DO EVERYTHING WHICH DEPENDS ON IT TO ENSURE THAT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 08058 202216Z

THE CONFERENCE PROMOTES A FURTHER UNIFICATION OF COMMUNISTS
ON THE BASIS OF CREATIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND
PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND (WILL PROMOTE AS
WELL) JOINT SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS STIRRING
THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT."

8. COMMENT: SUSLOV'S SPEECHES GENERALLY MAKE IT
QUITE CLEAR THAT HE VIEWS THE WORLD THROUGH MARXIST-
LENINIST LENSES AND IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE "WORLD
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE." HIS COMMENTS ON DETENTE
THEREFORE HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN MADE AS IF IN PASS-
ING, WITH THE MINIMUM OF ENTHUSIASM REQUIRED BY THE
MOMENT. IF DETENTE AS A POLICY IS MORE A TACTIC THAN
STRATEGY FOR ANYONG IN THE KREMLIN, SUSLOV MUST
SURELY BE THAT MAN.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

9. WE THEREFORE DO NOT ASCRIBE PARTICULAR
SIGNIFICANCE TO THE RELATIVE COOLNESS OF HIS REMARKS
ON DETENTE. HE CONTINUES TO ENDORSE IT, IN PRINCIPLE,
AT LEAST, WHILE EMPHASIZING THE DIFFICULTIES THE
DETENTE PROCESS MUST MEET. BUT HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH
"CLASS SOLIDARITY" MAKES IT ALMOST IMPERATIVE THAT
HE STRESS THESE DIFFICULTIES IN ANY CASE.

10. WE MUST SAY THAT SUSLOV IN THIS SPEECH WAS GENERALLY
WELL-BEHAVED ON THE QUESTION OF INTER-PARTY RELATIONS. HIS
STRESS ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND HIS LINKING
OF THE PRINCIPLE WITH THE ECPC WAS PERHAPS A
BIT INCAUTIOUS AT THIS STAGE OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE
CONFERENCE, BUT AT LEAST HE DID NOT CONFRONT DIRECTLY
THE WESTERN EUROPEAN AUTONOMIST PARTIES IN THE SAME
ABRUPT MANNER AS IN HIS ACADEMY OF SCIENCES SPEECH ON
MARCH 17 (REFTEL). IT WOULD APPEAR THAT HIS COLLEAGUES
ON THE POLITBURO MAY HAVE PREVAILED ON HIM TO CURB HIS
TONGUE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL ORTHODOXY ISSUE -- AT LEAST
UNTIL THE ECPC IS OVER AND DONE WITH.

11. THE SOVIET MEDIA CONTINUES TO EMPHASIZE THE P.I.
THEME, HOWEVER, AND TO SPELL OUT EXACTLY WHAT PKM
MEANS, ON THE SAME PAGE OF PRAVDA WHICH CARRIED SUSLOV'S
SPEECH MARCH 20, A FURTHER ARTICLE ON THE SED PARTY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 MOSCOW 08058 202216Z

CONGRESS QUOTED AN EAST GERMAN PARTY FUNCTIONARY, K.
NAUMAN (NEUMANN?) THAT "ONE'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE PARTY
OF LENIN AND TO THE USSR CONTINUES TO BE THE TEST OF
LOYALTY TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY UNITY, DETENTE, SPEECHES, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 MAY 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW08058
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760197-0630
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760533/aaaabbwa.tel
Line Count: 207
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 4235
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <28 JUL 2004 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUSLOV ON DETENTE, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM
TAGS: PFOR, GC, UR, US, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006